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THE WORLD TOMORROW

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

The Crisis in British Socialism

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

Can Communists and Socialists Unite?

KIRBY PAGE

Changing England

H. N. BRAILSFORD

In Defense of Buchmanism

IRENE GATES

MAY, 1933

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Ex Cathedra

JUST as we were working up a proper ire against the German government after reading about the dire plight of thousands who have been deprived of their livelihood in Germany through the chicanery and ruthlessness of the Nazis, we received a letter from Comrade Trotsky appealing for funds for exiled members of the Communist Left opposition who are dying of hunger. Trotsky quotes from a letter of one of his followers in Russia as follows: "They want to get us by hunger. We will not do penance. We are right. We will die of hunger, but we will not do penance. We make collections, but it is very risky here. To help the opposition with a chervonetz means to fall into the list of enemies and be deported. . . . The question is one of physical destruction of our comrades."

All of this moves us again to insist that whatever the weaknesses of liberalism as a creed, there is something in the liberal spirit, particularly in its insistence on the "human rights" which all men ought to enjoy, whatever their race, color or previous condition of servitude. These Right and Left fanatics destroy common and necessary humanities in pursuit of their particular goals.

IF the indications of the press are correct, the Fascists are driving a wedge between the trade unions of Germany and the Socialist Party. If they succeed in this, as they seem to be, the most interesting and important consequences to the labor movement of the world may be expected. For if the trade union movement permanently aligns itself with fascism to make its peace, the old alliance between trade unions and parliamentary socialism is at an end. What is vital and vigorous in the Socialist movement will have to be reorganized without reference to trade unions. No one can say just where this development may lead.

THE Roosevelt Administration is making a brave effort to balance its deflationary policies by other measures which will tend to increase the purchasing power of the masses. Its effort to lighten the interest burden of both home owners and farmers, its minimum wage bill and similar measures, all have the intention of increasing consumption power. But they all reveal the limits of capitalistic policy. Interest rates are reduced a little but debt burdens remain undisturbed. These limits of capitalistic liberalism prove how impossible it is to have an adequate distribution of income in a technological civilization if the whole property system is not called into question.

CONGRESSMAN BECK, who regards himself as something of a watchdog of the Constitution, is very wroth with George Bernard Shaw because G. B. S. spoke disrespectfully of our sacred law in his New York speech. We rather agree with Congressman Beck, but for different reasons. Either Shaw is in his dotage, which is probable, or his socialism never did amount to much. His contention seemed to be that our Constitution was bad chiefly because it did not permit one man to run the country. He even suggested that poor Hoover might have been the savior of the nation if only he hadn't had the bother of Congress on his hands. Such an explanation is worthy of the author of *The Applecart* but it is hardly worthy of an honest Socialist, or of an intelligent observer of politics for that matter. Shaw's indifferent address was brightened a little at the conclusion by his analysis of banking and finance. His demonstration of the absurdity of the private manipulation of social credit proved that a gleam of light can still come from a mind increasingly obsessed with itself and with the necessity of making bright rejoinders to eager devotees.

PRONUNCIO

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THE WORLD TOMORROW

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An Editorial Announcement

The Editors desire to take this means of expressing their deep gratitude to the many hundreds of readers who have so generously helped us to pass through a threatening crisis, and to give them assurance concerning the future of the magazine. From numerous quarters the suggestion has come that we give serious consideration to the advisability of publishing fortnightly instead of weekly. After prolonged consideration the decision has been reached to act upon this suggestion, in order to avoid the prospect that some months hence another financial crisis might engulf us and snuff out the life of the magazine. To make assurance doubly sure, we are conserving our resources by publishing monthly issues from now until the end of the summer. Beginning with September we shall become a biweekly. While, as is the case with contemporaries in our field, we must continue to depend upon the generous financial coöperation of many friends, we are wholly confident that this further drastic retrenchment removes uncertainty as to our being able to continue publication, without affecting the quality of the fortnightly issues. Responses to the request we are printing on page 407 of this issue will help us to make the magazine more useful to its readers.

Futile Statecraft

The weather was bright when Ramsay MacDonald set sail for America to confer with President Roosevelt. "I take that as a good omen," declared Mr. MacDonald. The casual remark was probably not meant to be taken very seriously, but it is nevertheless rather symbolic of the type of statecraft which is trying to help the world out of its morass and which, for want of any definite principles to steer its course, is reduced to the vapid hope that some good fortune as capricious as the weather will help it out of its difficulties.

Recently Mr. MacDonald went to Italy with a plan to pacify Europe. He didn't get very far with his plan because Mussolini frightened him with the possibility of a German-Italian entente and pressed a four-power pact upon him. The four-power pact is dead already, and with it the hopes of disarmament have gone glimmering. The economic conference seems destined to an equally futile end. If it were to help the world at all, it would have to deal realistically with both tariffs and the monetary problem. Perhaps a world-wide controlled inflation would help our sick economic system for a time. Instead, there will be nothing but further deflation. The Washington conferences will hardly yield any results which will really help the stricken world. If the Roosevelt Administration demands that the Ottawa agreements be changed as a *quid pro quo* for debt cancellation, it will face the immovable opposition of the Tory government, which has put itself into a position where it must stand or fall by those agreements.

The fact that toryism in England, which was supposed to save Britain from the depression, thus aggravates the difficulties of solving the international problems of capitalism is very instructive for an understanding of the plight of our civilization.

Toryism in England is a part of the general drift toward reaction which is manifesting itself in most of the Western nations under the pressure of the world depression, and of which Hitlerism in Germany is but the latest instance. This drift toward reaction is supposed to be the way of salvation for nations which are imperilled by the "forces of disintegration" unloosed by the depression. But the artificial national solidarities which these reactionary movements create increase the anarchy of international life. In this respect the Nationalist government in England and the Fascist government in Germany are in the same category, whatever the differences may be between them in other matters. There is something rather pathetic about this effort of capitalism to arrest the decay of national unity only to intensify the international problem of Western civilization.

Indignation Ltd.

Examples of flagrant injustice naturally provoke righteous indignation. Recent illustrations are found in the outbursts of protest against the excesses of Hitlerism and against the Alabama decision in the Scottsboro case. No sensitive spirit could remain silent in the face of the cruel and senseless persecution of Jews in Germany, or fail to voice his condemnation of the race passion which sentenced Heywood Patterson to death. Moral indignation is not only permissible, it is obligatory. There is far too much ethical insensitiveness to the brutalities inherent in our industrial civilization, and far too much dumbness in the presence of monstrous injustice.

Nevertheless, the very legitimacy of protest often tempts men with a keen sense of equity to give vent to dangerous utterances. Many of the recent condemna-

tions of anti-Semitism fall into this category. Upon the solid foundation of verified illustrations of cruelty perpetrated upon German Jews, a distorted superstructure of Nazi atrocities has been erected, with the result that hatred of the Jews has been fanned to more intense heat. Another instance is found in the post-trial remarks of Samuel S. Leibowitz, counsel for the Scottsboro boys. That he had reason to be aroused by the way the Alabama jury disregarded the evidence in the case seems certain. Yet his remarks upon returning to New York, as quoted in the New York *Herald Tribune,* appear inexcusable. When asked for an opinion as to why a verdict of guilty was returned against Patterson, he replied: "If you ever saw those creatures, those bigots, whose mouths are slits in their faces, whose eyes pop out at you like a frog's, whose chins drip tobacco juice, bewhiskered and filthy, you would not ask how they could do it. When I got back home I felt that I needed a moral, mental and physical bath." Mr. Leibowitz will have these words flung in the face of the next Southern jury before which he stands, if ever he returns to the South, with consequences for his clients that need not be expressed. Words like these enormously accentuate racial and sectional bitterness, but they do not at all tend to improve the quality of justice administered in Southern courts.

Indeed, within a few hours after the above paragraph was written swift verification has come. Mr. Leibowitz's outburst was quoted by Judge Horton as a reason for postponing the trial of the eight other defendants. Said the Decatur judge: "The accused Negro must be a victim of this statement. His leading attorney would be a mill-stone about his neck. No court, regardful of its duty to see that trials must be fair and impartial, could, under such baneful influences, permit the trial of this case to proceed at the present time." Whereupon Mr. Leibowitz in New York City returned to battle with this retort: "I respect Judge Horton and the fair-minded people of his state. . . . As for the rest, the baying pack, the wolves of bigotry who raised the Hitler cry of 'Jew money from New York' because we dared to demand a square deal for men whose skin was black, I stand pat. They are bigots. Their very faces betoken it."

The case against Alabama bigotry and injustice is cumulatively convincing, but not any more so than was the case against slave-owners in pre-Civil War days. Historians are now generally agreed that the intemperate and abusive language of the abolitionists against men who owned slaves as chattels, however much it may have been warranted by the barbarities of the slave system, was a primary cause of the fratricidal conflict between the states. Passion begets passion, and the prospect of securing justice diminishes in proportion to the venom released.

The Continental Congress

Some 200 leaders of labor and farm organization are uniting in calling a Continental Congress o Workers and Farmers for Economic Reconstructio to meet in Washington, D. C., on May 6 and 7 Among those taking the lead in assembling delegate from all over the country are Emil Rieve, Presiden of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hos iery Workers; Fred Suitor, President of the Vermon State Federation of Labor; Thomas Cheek, Presiden of the Oklahoma Farmers' Union; Oscar Cooley, o the Coöperative League of America; Norma Thomas, Clarence Senior, Karl Borders and other So cialists. It is hoped that 4,000 delegates will par ticipate in the deliberations of this assembly.

We welcome this effort to focus public attentio upon the inadequacies, weaknesses and dangers o many of the proposals and measures upon which th Administration is relying. There is grave peril tha the public will be so impressed with the whirl of ac tivity in Washington that it will fail to realize tha the refusal of the new regime to make the necessary radical transformations in our economic system, especially the unwillingness to socialize banking, will result in an even more disastrous collapse at a later date. If Socialists are to be in a position to take advantage of the disillusionment which is likely to follow the failure of the Roosevelt program to restore prosperity even to that proportion of the population which enjoyed its blessings in 1929, they must not only have at hand a program of economic deliverance, but must also secure wide publicity for their policies long in advance. At both these points the Continental Congress should prove to be of great value.

Better Stop It Now

The time to stop a war with Japan is before an overt act releases chauvinistic passions on both sides. Bluntly and in crystal-clear language, the ominous nature of the situation in North China must be pointed out. The powder mines are scattered recklessly about, and a small blaze might produce a terrific explosion. The presence of American troops in that area is a source of great peril, not only to our citizens there but to pacific relations between Japan and ourselves. The menace of hostilities between American and Japanese forces can no longer be dismissed as imaginary. Air raids by the latter are even now threatening the lives and property of foreigners within 50 miles of Peiping, and rumors persist that attacks are to be made on that city and on Tientsin. If by a terrible accident American lives should be taken, or a retaliatory attack be made by American marines, the situation might get out of hand. If we really care about the safety of our fellow citizens in the Far East and about peace in the Pacific, we will forthwith remove

all our armed forces from China, and thus reduce to a minimum the likelihood of an overt act of war.

And let the statement be reiterated that acquiescence in Japan's seizure of Manchuria and Jehol means warfare on a wider scale. If the League of Nations and the United States fail to take vigorous action in support of the Lytton Commission's report and that of the Committee of Nineteen, as adopted by the Assembly, peace in that region will remain unattainable. A single-handed embargo against shipments of arms to Japan on the part of Great Britain or the United States will merely intensify the friction, without accomplishing any constructive result. The crisis demands coöperative pressure against Japan—moral, diplomatic, financial, economic (not a complete boycott or a blockade)—by the signatories to the Covenant and the Kellogg Pact.

Even if all our armed forces were kept on this side of the Pacific, friendly relations with military-ridden Japan would be difficult enough to preserve. But the menace is enormously accentuated by continued maintenance of an American armed establishment in the danger zone. Without delay let our gunboats and marines be brought home!

John Bull Breathes Again

The ineradicable sense of drama which characterizes the leaders of Soviet Russia was visible in the close of the sensational trial of British engineers and Russian accomplices. Thornton goes to prison for three years and MacDonald for two, and three other Britons have been expelled from Russia; while of the Russians, three drew ten-year sentences and lesser terms were meted out to seven others.

Already the British government, obviously rather relieved, in secret, that it did not have to carry out literally all of its horrendous threats of a complete embargo on Russian trade, has announced a modification of its stand. Doubtless it will gradually modify its gradual modifications, saving its precious face as much as possible and trying glumly to forget the brave words which were spoken about British innocence of espionage and other mischief in the Soviet Union. Not while the Tories keep the dust off the throne will there be any apologies or any admissions that a British agent could do wrong. But there will be, we fancy, no smiles along Whitehall over the stagy humor of the Soviet authorities in coupling with the sentences passed upon the British culprits an award of the Lenin medal to an American engineer for conspicuous fidelity in performance of duty. We confess to a little inability to appreciate the full flavor of this child-like use of reward and punishment; but we rejoice in the comparative humanity of the verdict with regard to the British defendants, and hope that the tensity between Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. will speedily relax.

That Complex Arms Embargo

As we have suggested once before, the arms embargo bill which President Roosevelt desires contains elements both of promise and of danger. The confusion of the peace forces, which are by no means united with regard to the measure, is due chiefly to the confused character of the bill itself and the consequences likely to arise at some future time from its adoption now. On the face of it, to authorize the president to declare an embargo on arms, along with other nations, is to clothe him with the power to prevent wars, to choke off the whines of the aggrieved armament manufacturers, and to lead the world toward peaceful settlement of international disputes. There can be no denying that a president of the United States might on more than one occasion, if he were the right president, had the right opinion back of him, and were given the right set of circumstances, perform these very services to peace. It is also equally possible, however, that under the power with

Where Shall I Perch?

From a drawing by Albert Daenens

which he is vested through this measure, the chief executive might bring about a situation which would plunge this country into war. The danger spot in the bill comes at the point of an arbitrary decision by the president that one of two or a group of belligerents is the aggressor and not entitled to munitions. It would be entirely possible for the United States, officially, therefore, to side with one country by shipping it vast quantities of war materials while withholding war materials from its adversary. There would, in such an event, be a strong probability that the power to whose cause we had done such injury might retaliate by a declaration of war or by the building up of a new series of alliances against us.

Far safer than this measure would be the absolute prohibition of arms shipments to any warring nation that was called for last fall in the platform of the Socialist Party. To the complaint that this proposal would make it impossible for a country to defend itself by war against a powerful foe, it may be pointed out with considerable force that history has amply demonstrated, if anything at all, that defense by arms is no defense at all, and that after a war it is well-nigh impossible to distinguish between victor and vanquished.

A Class-War Failure

Radicals who wish fairly to examine the question of the utility of class war may find material of value and interest in recent events in Austria. Developments in this critical zone of conflict hardly bear out the contentions of those who have upheld the necessity of armed force for proletarian freedom. It is well known that the rise of Austrian socialism to power in Vienna brought about an anomalous situation, with the vast city in the hands of the Social-Democrats, who, however, were surrounded with a fascist or semi-fascist opposition in most of the countryside. As a means of insuring the strength of socialism in Red Vienna, the Socialists began, several years ago, the building of an armed organization, after the fashion so prevalent in Germany and Ireland. More than a hundred thousand uniformed men were trained in military tactics and gradually equipped with arms, until the *Schutzbund* came to be relied on as the mainstay of Austrian Social-Democracy. Surely, with this large body of supporters, ready and capable, it would be difficult for even the hardiest group of reactionaries to wipe out socialism.

Socialism has not yet been wiped out; but the *Schutzbund* has. Acting with autocratic energy, Chancellor Dollfuss has ordered the Socialist private army to disband, following up the order with police surveillance and stern threats of dire punishment if there was any recalcitrance. And thus world socialism has been treated to the spectacle of a hundred thousand potential warriors tamely submitting to this tyrannical decree, turning in their arms and removing their uniforms. Dr. Otto Bauer and other Socialist leaders have justified the obedience of the *Schutzbund* on the ground that it would be of little use to resist, since a general strike could hardly be successful now; the workers were not ready.

Why were they not ready? Some of the reasons are convincing, and they are reasons which have no relation to the question we are here discussing. Nevertheless, one reason, unquestionably, is the habit of reliance on force that has long been built up among the working masses, and, on its reverse side, the long neglect of the special tactics of non-violent revolt. Socialism cannot go along straddling the line between class war and non-violent revolution. It will either fix its attention on one method, and center its imagination in that method, or stake everything on the other. If it stakes much on class war, as evidence continues to pile up, it will decide unrealistically and weaken itself along the only lines which, in our generation, hold out any genuine revolutionary promise.

Spain Faces Its Fascists

Primo de Rivera, Spain's dictator, died three years ago March 16; and to memorialize the third anniversary of this event some of his erstwhile followers gathered at his tomb. With them, too, were perhaps 500 representatives of Spain's new fascist movement, the Blue Shirts, who already number, it is estimated, 7,000 throughout all Spain. But the Republican Alliance, composed of Prime Minister Azaña's supporters, and the Spanish Socialist Party are not repeating what they deem to be the errors of the progressive forces in Italy and Germany. The initial issue of *El Fascio,* the proposed fascist organ, was confiscated, it is reported, on the press, while a small number of copies which had been run off and sent out were seized by bands of radicals and burned in the streets. All that night and the next day groups from workers' organizations marched through the city of Madrid crying, in a common manner which will not be taken too literally by those who know Spain, "Death to Mussolini! Death to Hitler!" Some radicals went so far as to attempt to stone the Italian and German embassies; the authorities would not, however, permit this sort of excess.

From this vantage point of outward freedom it is natural to deplore such vigorous protests and suppression, because they do not fit into our American picture of fancied democratic liberalism. The question, nevertheless, is not a simple one. The answer to the super-tolerance of democratic liberalism in a revolutionary situation may be seen today in Italy and Germany under the mailed fist of ruthless oppression. On the other hand, the Spanish Socialists have had to protest to Azaña several times because of the undue

tendency of the Civil Guards, who have inherited a few traits of cossackism from the monarchy, to suppress trade union demonstrations.

"The barbarity prevalent in Italy and Germany," recently said a Spanish Socialist, "cannot be permitted to spread here. Organizations whose aim it is to destroy civil liberties can't be allowed to grow up in the shelter of them." In the United States, however, it has been the contention of radicals and liberals who have united to preserve civil liberties that entire freedom of utterance should be granted, even to the advocacy of violence, short of the violence itself. An observant Spaniard would be certain to point out, however, that Spain cannot rest upon democratic liberalism while so large a proportion of her people are still illiterate and while counter-revolution, as proved by the events of last summer, is still a menace. Spain won her freedom from monarchist corruption and tyranny by extraordinarily orderly means, but the democratic experiment has been twice menaced seriously, once from the extreme Left and once from the Right, by violent groups. It cannot be expected of her to tolerate free expression of fascism, which in her case almost certainly unites the advocacy of violence with violence itself, and we hope she will not. Nevertheless, the final weapon against fascism is a brilliant success for radical political and economic democracy, and Spain's contribution to world experience in this direction, while far from complete, has been notable. Not only the Latin American nations, but many persons in the United States who abhor fascism and all its works, will look eagerly to the new Republic as a defense against the widening belt of black reaction in Europe.

Gagging the Wrong Ones

As demonstrated more than once already, the commendable speed with which Mr. Roosevelt is pushing his emergency legislation through Congress may easily become extremely dangerous—to the country and to his own prestige. It is scarcely reassuring to see the House of Representatives and the Senate passing bills without knowing what they are for, what they contain, or what their effects would be. A conspicuous instance is the so-called gag bill, introduced on April 3 in the House by Representative Sumners, chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Merely asserting that the State Department had asked for the measure and given the committee compelling reasons, Mr. Sumners pushed it through the House by a vote of 300 to 29. The bill (H. R. 4220) would make it a criminal offense for a government employe to disclose the contents of any official document or book or paper. The second section of this bill provides for ten years imprisonment and a fine of $10,000 as the maximum penalty for anyone who shall "willfully, without authorization of competent authority," publish or disclose any matter "prepared in any official code," or who shall publish or make public any information of an official character which was in process of transmission from one division or branch of the government to another, or between a foreign government and its representatives in this country. Any such disclosure was held prima facie evidence of "a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the United States."

The American Civil Liberties Union characterized the bill correctly by declaring in a formal protest that "no more complete dictatorial control over publication of government business has ever been proposed in time of peace or war." The Union, in company with defenders of free speech generally, emphasized the fact that adequate safety against exposure of important documents could be secured by confining the bill to the publication of confidential coded matter. Happily, the Senate has redrafted the measure and the stunned members of the House appear ready to reconsider their rashness.

That some need of protection really existed cannot be doubted. Though little has been given out publicly, those who follow international relations know that a code expert named Yardley a year or two ago brought out a book, *The American Black Chamber,* which revealed the existence of a headquarters in New York where, with funds supplied by our War and State Departments, it is alleged, Yardley intercepted and decoded the confidential messages sent between the Japanese government and its delegates at the Washington Arms Conference of 1922. The book supplies details of the messages and shows that our own delegates knew what was going on all the time between Washington and Tokio. Secretary Stimson, so it is asserted by Washington observers, was horrified when he discovered that the "black chamber" was still functioning, and stopped its funds. When it was learned a while ago that Yardley was soon to bring out another book making public decoded matter down to 1929, according to the story going the rounds of the press reporters at the Capitol but not used by them in their papers, Yardley was arrested and his manuscript seized. No legal way could be found to hold him, however, and the "gag bill" was immediately demanded. Rumor has it that the manuscript has been sent out of the country and will be published abroad. Whether this is all true or not, certainly there was abundant reason to believe that Japanese opinion, already inflamed toward this country, would be justifiably aroused still further should the first Yardley book be followed by another. One by one the incredible iniquities of the Harding-Coolidge era are being exposed; and if this story is as true as all the evidence makes it appear, the incident is one of the most shameful in American history.

At Last the City of God?

On Good Friday, precisely at three o'clock, buglers stationed at important downtown intersections by the American Legion sound taps. The street cars of the entire city system stop and stand still for thirty seconds. For the same half-minute the police require automobiles also to remain motionless. During the preceding three hours the inhabitants of the city have been, presumably, engaged in spiritual meditation. With official sanction the employes of the city have supposedly spent some part of this period at church. For the Mayor has issued this proclamation:

> To the Citizens of Los Angeles, Greetings: Leading clergymen of all denominations, including church brotherhoods and federations, are sponsoring the observance of Good Friday, April 14, 1933, which marks the nineteenth centennial of the Crucifixion of Our Lord. As Mayor of the City of Los Angeles, I invite my fellow-citizens to join in the commemoration of the death of Our Lord by setting aside the hours of 12 o'clock noon to 3 p. m. for spiritual meditation. It is both fitting and proper that business activity be suspended during those hours, and the Los Angeles Police Department has been requested to suspend all traffic for a period of thirty seconds at 3 o'clock.

Should anyone doubt that this heretofore officially wicked city is turning to righteousness, let him note that the Los Angeles *Times* gives rather extensive editorial comment to this movement in which "Leaders of our common faith, Catholic and Protestant alike," have united. The editorial points out that even though one may not be able to attend a church service during the officially designated period, nevertheless "at the desk or work bench, in the fields or the market place, there are time and room for all to devote some quiet reflection on the meaning of that sublime sacrifice."

American Art at the Whitney Museum

A European art critic, if told of the current exhibition of American paintings from the Addison Gallery of Philips Andover Academy which is now being held at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, would be likely to turn up his nose in contempt. For he would regard all American painting as inconsequential or worse, and the collection of a preparatory school as especially meretricious. But if he had an open mind, though he might come to scoff, he would remain to pray.

The thirty-three canvases which are exhibited prove that true art was very much alive in the United States even during the vulgarity of the Gilded Age. Nor are the paintings by the three great expatriates, Whistler, Sargent and Mary Cassat, the most impressive features of the exhibit. The honors go instead to two men who in their differing ways now seem to have been painters of very close to the first rank, namely, the mystical Ryder and the sober realist, Thomas Eakins.

There are three Ryders in this collection—all excellent. One in particular, "Coustance," a seascape of a dark boat in a greenish-blue blending of sky and ocean, is of surpassing loveliness. The two Eakins, one a portrait of the physicist Rowland and the other a painting of a young prize-fighter entering the ring with upraised arm and rippling muscles, are also extraordinarily good. There are also numerous landscapes, of which the best are not those of the Hudson River school of Innes, Martin and Wyant upon whom the influence of Constable and the Barbizon school is evident. The real gems of this type of painting are the canvases by Twachtman, Metcalfe and Weir. The influence of the French impressionists upon these painters is visible, but they are no mere imitators. Two canvases by Twachtman and Metcalfe of New England winters are soft and truly gentle in their whiteness. Weir's "Cattle in the Woods" is a worthy piece in the stippled style of Cezanne.

The collection is well rounded out with three paintings by Abbot Thayer, two Duvenecks, a Chase, a Blakelock and an excellent Brush. Thayer's oversentimental "Caritas" has prejudiced many against him, but not without reason was he looked upon as the great authority on the protective coloration of birds. His study of the breasts of pheasants is extraordinary in its brown faithfulness, while his portrait of a woman in green is no less than brilliant.

When we reflect that at the time most of this work was being done, in England the sickly Pre-Raphaelites of Millais, Burne-Jones and Rossetti were regarded as the height of art and the execrable Alma-Tadema and the insufferable Lord Leighton were the pundits of painting, we should realize that we have much of which to be proud.

In adjoining rooms is the somewhat strident exhibition of work by the Fellows of the Guggenheim Foundation in art. Here the most striking things are the mezzotints of Stavenitz and the dry-points of Chamberlain. Stavenitz' work has genuine proletarian drive and satire and his "Civilization," with a starving mother and child in the foreground and in the background a limousine containing typically anonymous and vacuous plutocrats, is especially effective.

Up in the top of the Whitney Museum, in the so-called library, are the astonishing Benton murals on the arts of America, which, full of explosive energy, debunk the cheapness of much of our life. Part of one panel, showing a politician between the gunman below and the banker above, is a bull's-eye hit at the forces which rule most of our cities. Extraordinary as these murals are, they can scarcely be termed functional, for it is difficult to conceive how one could study in a room like that. When Benton tries his hand again, he should be given some place other than a library on which to exercise his genius.

Changing England

London, England, April 3, 1933

VERY rarely does a traveller, after an absence of only two months, perceive changes in opinion when he returns to his own country—especially if that country is England. It is our foible to stand imperturbable, like the just man in Horace, while the world tumbles in ruins around us. Indeed, since the National government came into office ours has been the most placid nation under the sun. Yet it has happened to me to chronicle no less than three perceptible shifts in opinion.

The least surprising of them is a noticeable reaction against the negative economic policy of the government. Since it came to power it has set its face against any avoidable public expenditure, whether by the national or the local administration, with the natural result that the nation's income has steadily dwindled. Behind it in this policy the owning class and its press stood solid. It saw that public expenditure meant taxation, and further than this it would not or could not see. The *Times* at least has broken this unanimity by publishing a memorable series of four articles by Mr. Maynard Keynes, of which the tendency was, of course, frankly inflationist. He laid down the simple and unanswerable proposition that a nation's expenditure is its income. He showed by a careful reckoning that a loan for public works must actually benefit the revenue. Finally, he expounded an ingenious scheme for controlled reflation by international coöperation. A year ago such arguments would have fallen on deaf ears. Today they command fairly general assent. Even the conservative supporters of the government in the House of Commons are becoming restive under its inertia, and are sending, or trying to send, deputations to Mr. MacDonald to urge the adoption of a more active policy. I write "trying to send" because our national hero shuts his doors upon them and refers them to subordinates—he is busy with the world's affairs. I doubt whether anything will modify the inertia and fatalism of our rulers, but their negations no longer reflect the attitude of the entire middle class. It is losing its complacency. It begins to doubt whether salvation lies in ruthless economy. It has lost its belief that a tariff would herald an era of prosperity.

THE second change is much more interesting. The younger generation in the middle class is turning pacifist. I do not know how far the American press, amid the banking crisis at home and the counter-revolution in Germany, has found space to report the really shocking revolt of the students of Oxford against partiotism and all that it implies. To me it seems one of the most significant events of my lifetime. The Oxford Union is the parade ground of the English governing class. In this debating society every young man who has political ambitions must train himself for the arena at Westminster. From Gladstone to Asquith, nearly every eminent British statesman had served his term as a President of this association, or of the kindred club at Cambridge. Archbishops and Indian Viceroys must graduate here: indeed, there is only one other road to distinction that can compare with it, and that is the honor of rowing in the University "Eight." Look round the benches of the Union during one of its debates, and you may be sure that these young men will give to the Empire a future minister or two, a bishop and several deans, an Indian governor and a number of judges. Some will be peers, others have hereditary businesses waiting for them; the majority will enter the learned professions or the Civil Service. The tone of the debates used to oscillate between pomposity and wit, and rarely, until a Labor Party was formed since the war, was any view expressed that would shock the governing class.

Imagine, then, the horror of the English middle and upper classes when by a substantial majority the Oxford Union declared that under no circumstances would it "fight for King and Country." The motion could hardly have been worded in a more provocative

Nazi Movement—Local Version

Dyson in the London *Daily Herald*

way, and it had its due effect: retired colonels and society ladies went livid with rage, and for many days the Tory press talked of little else. Nor was it an accidental vote. Led by young Randolph Churchill (Winston Churchill's son), the Tories of the Union made an attempt at a later session to reverse the vote. They ignominiously failed. And now from university to university the infection is spreading: Manchester, Glasgow, the biggest of the London colleges and two Welsh colleges have passed the same motion. It has been lost only in Durham. A bare majority of the under-graduates who voted for it at Oxford may have been Socialists, but a good hundred of them, I am told, were Liberals. Frank Hardie, who, as President of the Union, proposed the motion, is the son of a distinguished Civil Servant, Martin Hardie, who is also a notable artist. A decided Socialist, his personality is remarkable chiefly for its poise and sobriety: he is the last man to mean less than his words. This movement is more than youthful froth. It represents the state of mind of a generation which has grown up amid the evidences of the total bankruptcy of the more idealistic policies of the Great War. The League of Nations reveals itself to them an impotent sham. Disarmament is beyond the capacities of their elders. Above all, as they look around them, the triumph of Hitler waves over Europe the flaming torch of revenge. Once again—who can be sure?—a British government may think of calling them up to crush Prussian militarism. Well then, their minds are made up. They will refuse to share in the futility and the beastliness of any war "for King and Country."

THE third drift of opinion is also a response to events in Germany, but it stirs in the working class as well as among the Socialist intelligentsia. We should be deaf and blind if we did not ask ourselves the question: Will our Labor and Socialist movement go under, one day, helpless and passive, under a wave of fascism, like that of Germany? It is manifest that the Nazi counter-revolution triumphed chiefly because Socialists and Communists had spent their strength in fratricidal strife. Very well then: Ought we to close our ranks in a "common front"? The I. L. P. and the Communist Party have given their answer: they have formed a fighting alliance. The official Labour Party has refused even to discuss the possibility of a united front, and has issued a manifesto in which the whole stress was laid, not on the urgency of socialism, but on the need for defending democracy. Liberals are, of course, delighted, but within the active Left Wing of the Party there is dismay.

It is not a simple or an easy question to debate. Our case is very different from Germany's. In the first place, the Communist Party there was a great power, which even under the terror could poll nearly five million votes and had a hundred members in the Reichstag: here it has but five thousand members and not one representative at Westminster. Manifestly coöperation is not among us the vital issue that it was in Germany. One may think it desirable, as I do, for the sake of the moral effect, but one cannot argue that it will add much to our strength. Again, it may be said that fascism can become a real menace in an advanced democracy only when oppression from the outer world has driven it mad. Certainly in Germany the Treaty of Versailles was used to foster it. But it contrived to rise even more swiftly in Italy without this external aid. It is a phase of the class war, and while its precise form and behaviour will be influenced by external conditions, its primary purpose is to destroy the power of the organised working class. It seems to arise when a working class is powerful enough to exert a considerable influence on policy, but not quite strong enough nor quite resolute enough to capture power.

When one states the origin and nature of fascism in this way, there is no obvious reason why England should be forever immune. Say, if you please, that it would be less picturesque, less inclined to theory, even perhaps less brutal here than elsewhere, but it is not reasonable to say that an owning class will go under rather than resort to such an "un-English" expedient. It may dress up in shirts of an appropriate color, or it may prefer to seduce the professional army, but no scruple will deter it from using force when other defences fail. For my own part I think that we did go through the first incipient phase of a fascist evolution during the crisis of 1931, when the country conferred "a doctor's mandate" on Mr. MacDonald. That was our English synonym for "dictatorship." We expressed ourselves, as usual, indirectly, and said less than we meant. This was, as a witty friend of mine puts it, a sort of "Fabian" fascism. I doubt whether Sir Oswald Mosley's movement has a future. The real thing will evolve, if it be our destiny, when Labor, under leaders who mean business, again approaches power. Then Mr. Churchill's chance will arrive.

The question whether one unites with the Communists is significant not because they count for much, but because in holding aloof from them the Labor Party proclaims its resolve to play for safety and a quiet life. That is the road to disaster.

H. N. Brailsford

A Request

We should be grateful for the return of any extra copies our readers may have of our issues of January 4th, 11th, 18th and 25th or of April 5th.

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THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N.Y.C.

Can Socialists and Communists Unite?

KIRBY PAGE

THE seizure of power by the Nazis in Germany has been followed by an avalanche of criticism of the strategy of the Social Democrats and by a widespread demand for a united front on the part of Socialists and Communists in all countries. In February seven Socialist parties of the Left appealed to the Third (Communist) International and the Second (Socialist) International to unite for action against reactionaries, and on March 6 the Communist International published a manifesto instructing its adherents throughout the world to arrange a joint program with Socialist and Labor parties against fascism. At the moment of writing, the Second International has not reached a final decision, but is still engaged in negotiations. The Socialist Party of the United States has not yet determined its procedure. The British Labor Party, the Parliamentary Labor Party, and the British Trades Union Congress have combined in rejecting the proposal of a united front with the Communists in Great Britain.

A natural conclusion for persons who are sickened by the fascists' cruel exploitation of the workers is that all progressives and radicals should put shoulder to shoulder in resisting this tyranny. And while there are areas in which such coöperation is imperative, it is of the utmost importance for pacifists and Socialists to recognize that there are limits beyond which they cannot go without being engulfed by the Communist strategy of violent class war. Socialists and Communists alike should seek vigorously to expose the irrationalities, inefficiencies, and immoralities of the capitalist system, and to undermine confidence in the competitive struggle for private profit. They should endeavor to maintain freedom of speech, assembly and press, and should rally to the assistance of persons who have been denied civil liberties. They should oppose armed preparedness, provocative national policies, and imperialistic adventures, and should organize a powerful block of war resisters for immediate action when war threatens.

With regard to organizing the workers, and especially the unemployed workers, the question should be faced squarely: Organization for what? The Communist answer is clear and unequivocal: organize for the violent seizure of power, the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, and the maintenance of that dictatorship for an indefinite period by whatever degree of terror is required. It cannot be repeated too often that the Communist method is the military method, directed against class enemies rather than national foes. There should be no confusion at this point. So far as ultimate objectives are concerned, a united front with Communists means common action in civil war against the owning class.

ON April 9 *Pravda* published an appeal by the Communist International calling upon the German Communist Party to warn the masses that "Hitler's government is leading the country to catastrophe, and the only possibility for the laboring class to prevent their further impoverishment and misery is through a proletarian revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat." The manifesto further urged a united front between Social Democrats and Communists so as *"to prepare the masses for decisive revolutionary battles and to overthrow capitalism and fascist dictatorship by means of an armed revolt."*

Further evidence as to what is meant by a united front is found in the *Communist,* an official publication of the Communist Party of the United States, for April. In commenting upon the appeal of the Comintern for joint action on the part of Social Democrats and other Socialists, on the one hand, and Communists, on the other, this American journal speaks contemptuously of the groups expected to join in a united front:

> How correct are the words of Comrade Stalin that "social democracy is the moderate wing of fascism". . . . Without the aid of the German Social Democracy and its policy of capitulation to the German bourgeoisie, fascism would have never been possible in Germany. Their traitorous betrayals of the German masses from the first day of the World War until the present demonstrates the complete bankruptcy of the policy of the Social Democracy. . . . The Communist International is not yet convinced that today the Second International is sincere in its proposals. . . . It remains the chief force in the working class which disorganizes, demoralizes and prevents the consolidation of the forces of revolution.

The traitorous Socialists are completely bankrupt and insincere, yet they are expected to coöperate! Upon what platform are they to stand? That of the violent seizure and maintenance of power, as consistently advocated by the Communists. Listen to the *Communist:* "Does the Communist International Manifesto mean a change in the basic line of the Comintern with regard to the united front? Of course not!" And this same journal quotes from a pronouncement of the Communist International in 1921: "The time will come when entire and now still powerful Social Democratic parties will collapse, or if they persist in their treachery, will burst like soap bubbles; and when whole strata of the social democratic workers will come over to us. The tactics of the united front further and

expedite this process." Thus we see that Communists are frank in saying that *the purpose of the "united front" is to further and expedite the process whereby Socialists will come over to them.*

If Socialists decide to join in a united front on this basis, they must wholly abandon the principles and practices which have hitherto set them apart from Communists. If Socialists are to fight in a revolutionary army, they would become more efficient militarists by joining the Communist Party, which has long specialized in the strategy and tactics of armed battle. And let it not be forgotten that if capitalism is violently overthrown and a dictatorship of the proletariat established, those Socialists and pacifists who are opposed to Communist procedure will be "liquidated," as they have been in the Soviet Union, where many Socialists have been imprisoned, executed or exiled to Siberia.

For these reasons I welcome a manifesto recently issued by the British Labor Party, the Parliamentary Labor Party, and the British Trades Union Congress:

> Today, in a world that is being driven by capitalist ruthlessness into Dictatorship, British Labour stands firm for the democratic rights of the people.
>
> It believes that a united working-class movement, founded and conducted on the broadest democratic principles, can establish a Socialist society so soon as the workers are sufficiently advanced in political wisdom as to place their own Movement in the seat of government, armed with all the powers of the Democratic State.

Personally, I should regard it as an irreparable tragedy if the Socialist Party of the United States should ever abandon its efforts to secure a genuinely representative state and instead bend its energies to the task of establishing a dictatorship by means of civil war. Let us present a united front wherever that can be done without being swallowed up by the tide of violent class war. But let us never forget for a minute that the strategy of the Socialists and that of the Communists are irreconcilable. We cannot at the same time seek a democratic state and a dictatorship. We cannot follow both the pacifist procedure and the militarist method.

The Oxford Group and Social Results

IRENE GATES

FOUR years ago there were still people who found it possible to believe in the permanence of the present organization of society. Today evidence of the disintegration of our socio-economic order is increasing on every side. Materialistic civilization, with its philosophy of getting more than one gives, stands forth as a failure. The question before all of us is what is to be the basis of the new order. Is it to be as selfishly acquisitive as the present, or are we to get down to the causes of poverty and economic disaster, and coöperatively build together a family society based on the mind of Jesus?

Down through the ages men motivated by the spirit of Christ have visioned a new world based on brotherhood. During recent years conference after conference of Christian men and women has faced our common needs, acknowledged Christ as the Way, and sent out men aflame to change the social order. Some of us have worked through "causes" and attempted to legislate people into goodness, and have been far from satisfied with the results of our efforts. At other times we have followed the way of humanitarian service, only to have disquieting moments when we have asked ourselves if we have really got at the root causes of people's difficulties when we have helped them to change their physical environment. As we have faced poverty and disease, we have wondered increasingly about the efficacy of such service. Then have come still more searching questions: "Are we the kind of people whom God can use to change a social order? If so, what is His plan for it and how do we discover where we fit in?" Jesus began His own ministry with a call to repentance. Perhaps His conception of the task out-distances ours.

It is in a mood very like this that many of us have turned to the Oxford Group to discover there a personal experience of Christ which has given us a new and deeper sense of individual and social sin, and the realization of new direction and power for the accomplishment of His social objectives. As we have looked closely at the origins of the Group, we have seen that the effective working out of the social gospel has been inherent in the kind of first-hand experience of God which brought together the early group of thoroughly committed men and women under the leadership of Frank Buchman. Sometimes it is said that we have recently acquired a social gospel. What has actually happened is that as one life after another has surrendered to God, it has been possible for God to work out, through a larger group, social solutions which He could not accomplish through a few individuals.

Already such social vision is being translated into direct action in many areas of life. Most of us recognize that the tremendous problem of unemployment in this country has its origin in economic injustice and shortsightedness, and that solving that problem will

doubtless involve radical changes in our social order. Meantime we have with us an army of men out of work. A small minority find employment only in times of great labor demand. They are the men who by reason of character defects or incompetence are individual misfits and liabilities. A large part of their problem is to be made employable. Such men are continually being helped to face and understand themselves, to see their potential value in the sight of God and the Group, and to lay hold on a character-transforming experience of God. Frequently they have had their new faith in God's concern about their needs quickened by finding a job, even in these troublous times. Others have been carried by the shared lives and possessions of people in the Group.

We are all agreed that man's pressing needs for food and shelter must be met, but we have done an inadequate emergency job if we stop there without attempting to remove his still more pressing needs of fear and worry by supplying an ultimate sense of security in God Himself. Christians of all time have proved that joy and peace and power are not dependent on material possessions, and that in a world seen as God's, fear and worry disappear. As I write, the Oxford Group in New York City is holding a house-party for homeless men for the sharing of faith and fellowship in a place where, nightly now for seven years, fifty of the city's unemployed (in many cases unemployable) have been given food and lodging.

IN various parts of the world groups have been formed in prisons. Several years ago the rector of a city parish in Edinburgh, who was also chaplain of the Edinburgh jail, had a revitalizing experience of God. He carried it into his ministry in prison. Man after man has been converted there, and gone out ready to take his place in society. Many of them have found new fellowship in a group meeting in the minister's church. Recently a converted man who had been a thief and the judge who sentenced him met for sharing and witness in such a group. In the Central Prison at Pretoria a similar group of some sixty men meets once a week, and in our own Middle West a vital group has been started this year in a boys' reformatory. An Anglican Canon in Montreal writes that the witness of one converted man has produced in the House of Detention there a group of seventy-five whose influence has been felt through the entire institution. Such news gives hope for a wholly new approach to the entire prison problem.

The burden of changing unjust conditions, however, still rests on those of us who are responsible for perpetuating the present system. So again we have failed as Christians if we do not produce a social conscience in an increasing number of industrial leaders. A year ago a young man who will one day have responsibility for an industrial firm employing many men in this country and abroad, had a transforming experience of Jesus Christ. Through the challenge of the Group he has come to see conditions in that plant through the eyes of Christ and the development of the lives of men employed there as more important than any cash profit.

Something over two years ago a worldly English business woman gave her life to Christ without reservations. She employs some forty-odd women in an unusually successful dressmaking business. First she shared her experience with her secretary, and the secretary, intrigued by the change in her employer, gave her life also. Their conviction together was that the business was God's and was to be run under His daily direction. An entirely new spirit has entered that organization. The women employees have become personal friends. Hours of work have been shortened; other employees added for relief when work grows heavy; individuals helped to secure recreational outlets; prolonged convalescent care provided for an unprecedented amount of sickness. The firm has become a coöperative enterprise with an understanding teammate administering the business for all. Profits have been less, though wages have not been cut once during a period when all competitors were reducing wages. Yet the sales sheet shows a greater number of sales than ever before in the history of the business.

AS in business, so in the home and school, countless men and women with their children or students are learning to wait on God for daily direction. Divorce proceedings have been stopped and homes restored as husband and wife have discovered a new loyalty and respect for each other in a common loyalty and devotion to One greater than themselves. Schools both here and abroad, where teachers and students meet daily for times of listening to God, are pioneering in a vital form of Christian education.

Again, how do we realize ourselves as brothers and sisters of other races? Race commissions can acquaint us with the facts about the living conditions and mores of other groups, but all too frequently they fail to carry us the final step of actual brotherhood. It is when men work together, sharing a common cause and common suffering, that our prejudices and fears about each other disappear. Supremely this is true when Jesus Christ is the unifying factor. In many parts of South Africa where the message of Christ has been made effective through the Groups, barriers of race are crumbling. Of this work Max Yergan, an outstanding native Christian worker in South Africa, says:

> Before I went off to America last year I had occasion to meet with a number of people whose lives had been definitely changed by the movement and who were giving very definite, practical, and couragous expression to that change. This was true in regard to most difficult aspects of the racial question. These people, some of whom were in most responsible social and business positions, had acquired courage which enabled

them to defy and violate usually accepted practices in South Africa in regard to the social and other relations between the races. . . .

I do not know much of the work of the Oxford Group in other countries; I am, however, in a position to know something of its results here in South Africa. I have come into that position from the opposite point of indifference and perhaps criticism, but I cannot pay too high a tribute to the people whose lives have been affected by this movement in South Africa, and to the results which are now being seen because of the witness which this movement, through its members, is bearing.

In the Near East the Bishop of Persia bears witness to the levelling power of Christ in race relationships. He says: "You take a group of Anglican missionaries, add a few native Persian Christians of long standing, then some recently converted Mohammedans and Jews, and put them all in a motor lorry to toil 100 miles across the blazing desert. They arrive better friends than when they started, ready to preach to hostile neighbors in an outlying village the Gospel of Christ in such power that new converts are added. Then you realize that a miracle has taken place before your eyes. Our groups are doing just that thing."

Racial pride and self-consciousness fall away from men who live like that. For them indeed, in Christ there is no East nor West. As more of us of all races come into a similar experience of Christ, we are confidently expecting the same transformations of racial attitudes in this country.

THINK again what might happen in another area if, in the face of the rising tide of nationalism, men and women of all nations entered into a brotherhood that knew no national barriers. Suppose one nation was willing to be crucified rather than break brotherhood by war. We say that no nation is ready now for such a step. But we dare to hope that by the multiplication of people in groups everywhere with a vital experience of Christ there will be produced a nation of peace-conditioned men and women. Groups in 27 different countries are learning to work together, sending international teams back and forth from one continent to another, carrying the message of Christ. Facing honestly the roots of distrust in the sight of God and the Group is always a vital part of the life.

Last June a German woman of character and refinement, the head-mistress of a Girls' School in Silesia, came to the International House-party at Oxford. An English woman who had lost all her family in the War shared her resentment of Germany with her, and the German faced her unrealized bitterness against England. Together they acknowledged their common sin, surrendered it to God, and the English woman prayed for Germany and the German woman prayed for England. Only the flood tide of the Spirit of God can wash away such deeply rooted sins of national hatred and resentment.

Later the same German woman shared with a Canadian group her experience of the love of God that had transformed her relationship to English people. A one-armed Canadian war veteran shared with her his new vital experience of God. He had been crippled in an encounter with her cousin, von Richthofen. The next day another Canadian aviator came to tell of his conversion. He proved to be the one who had shot down her cousin, and he gave her the details of that fatal encounter that she might take the true story —one not well known in Germany—home to the ace's mother with a real message of Christian reconciliation. Even a minority of people with a depth of brotherhood like that can go far toward levelling national barriers.

IN the end, then, we see the social task as we think Jesus saw it, a task primarily of finding men and women who are willing to give themselves completely to the God of Jesus Christ. He Himself maintained that His Way could only be understood by those who yielded themselves utterly to it. This life involves seeking God's way for ourselves, and immediately brings up the necessity of being directed by Him in all that we do. Like all people who listen for the Voice of God, we are discovering that He does speak to us about "little details" as well as great decisions, that frequently fresh insight and action grow from guidance in "small" matters. Some will say that it is dangerous to be guided, but in these troublous times we believe that it is more dangerous not to be. We in the Group employ the safeguard of checking our guidance by the standards of Jesus in the records and by the guided intelligence of our comrades. So to the daily surrender is added the enlightening discipline of guidance. Gradually we come to see the world as Jesus must have seen it—a world where God is King, and where we are His stewards. All things that men call our possessions are really His—our money, time, friends, home, work. Shortly, if we continue in His companionship, our relation to our fellows as well as to God is changed.

This is a highly personal approach to religion. It is, however, the way that Jesus followed. He left, as a nucleus, a mere handful of followers in a small group, but they were men with a great experience. He trusted that little team and gave them His own guidance and direction. His faith in them was justified. For they "out-laughed, out-lived, and out-died that pagan world." Today we have no reason to think that His Way for our age differs. All the genius of His mind lies in the direction of evolving a new family society in which men transformed by the Spirit of God are the vital units. No one can foretell what form such a society will assume. That God has a plan for it which He will show us as we are ready to carry it out, no one can doubt who takes Jesus seriously.

The Crisis of British Socialism

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

AT this critical moment, shocked into a sense of reality by the disastrous and evident consequences of its own fatally doctrinaire policy, the Communist International has made a move which calls for the most serious consideration. It has declared for unity between the working-class parties against the two-fold dangers of fascism and war. This unity of the working-class parties has been destroyed chiefly by the activities of the Communist International itself. But this is indeed no time for recrimination. What we have to do is to welcome the new decision. If it has taken Hitler to wake the Comintern out of a dream, then let Destiny be thanked for Hitler.

In response to the menace of bolshevism, fascism creates itself. Where the menace of bolshevism is slight, there fascism has difficulty in establishing itself as a separate and powerful movement. It is thus, at present, a comic opera movement in this country. For the appeal of fascism depends upon its being able, with great show of reason, to represent that it stands for the national will to order. In Germany it has been able to do this, as it was able to do it in Italy. Whenever the Bolshevik movement threatens to paralyse the State in a complex industrial society, fascism has its opportunity. And the opportunity is both moral and practical. The moral opportunity provides the enthusiasm: the practical opportunity, the success. For the development of bolshevism—Third International communism—inevitably splits the working-class party. Germany is the *corpus vile* on which the cause and danger of fascism has been demonstrated.

Now, if the crying need for unity among the working-class parties of Europe is accepted by the Communist International, then the Left Socialists in England must face up to the consequences without delay. They must admit clearly in their own minds that only one kind of unity between the working-class parties in this country is possible or conceivable: and that is a union in which the Labour Party and the Trades Unions are predominant. The bulk of the working class is behind them. If unity is to be real and effective it cannot be unity on terms dictated by the Left Socialists.

The point to be decided, and to be decided quickly, by Left Socialists in England, is whether there is a basis of unity between them and the Labour Party which demands from them no compromise on the essentials of their Socialist belief. Moreover, this basis of unity must be firm, the unity itself not specious; it will have, in the very near future (unless we are wholly mistaken), to stand an immense strain. The superficial unity of mass-demonstrations is utterly inadequate to the purpose. United mass demonstrations are admirable things; they give the worker an immediate *experience* of class solidarity. But unless they are resolutely implemented by a determination to pursue a common policy, they are a futile waste. In other words, there must be the will to unity—and will is a matter not of the emotions nor of the intellect, but of both in unison.

NOW, there *is* a basis for a true unity of the British working-class movement at the present moment. Whether non-Labour Party Socialists care to admit it or not, there has been a decided movement to the Left in the Labour Party since the disaster of 1931. It has been accentuated by the disaffiliation of the I.L.P. Locally, it may be as true as ever that the Labour Party is represented by men of whose Socialist convictions and Socialist determination sincere Socialists are justly suspicious. But, if we have regard to the Labour Party as a whole, and above all to those many determined Socialists who have remained within its ranks, whose outstanding intellectual representatives are Mr. Tawney and Mr. Cole, no honourable observer whose eyes are not blinded by mere party loyalty can doubt that the influence of determined Socialist opinion in the Labour Party has grown greatly during the last eighteen months.

The thought and policy of Labour Party Socialists has undergone a great clarification during this period. They have been free to abandon the unconvincing attitude forced upon them by the need of defending the conduct of the last Labour Government. That the defence was always against the grain no one doubted; but now even the pretence of it is abandoned. The best Socialist intelligence of the Labour Party has been concentrated upon the formulation of a policy adequate to its conviction that the Labour Party must become revolutionary, in the true Socialist sense, or perish ingloriously.

Now what are the essentials of this new policy of the Labour Party Socialists? First and foremost is the determination that the working-class must not abandon, at this crucial moment, a single one of the weapons it has legitimately won for the prosecution of the class-struggle. This means that the Labour movement must not merely not abandon, but resolutely retain, its chief weapon in this country—namely, the weapon of Parliament. To endeavour to force Sociali-

ism, at this moment, to declare itself anti-parliamentary, or non-parliamentary, is a fatal error. If the nature of that error was not apparent before, the triumph of Hitlerism in Germany has made it plain. When revolutionary Socialists discredit Parliament in a parliamentary country they destroy their own best weapon of offence or defence. They make smooth the way not for Socialist dictatorship, but for anti-Socialist dictatorship.

FATALLY blinded by words and theories, puffed up with visions of themselves as doing the dictating, insensitive to the psychological realities of the British situation, revolutionary Socialists in this country have allowed themselves to be associated in the general mind with the idea of anti-constitutional revolution. They have, in general, deserved no better; they have talked in terms of unrealities so long that they must not be surprised if the working-class has begun to take them at their word. Who can expect the average man to understand what "the dictatorship of the proletariat" means when translated into terms of British realities? And how many revolutionary Socialists have a right to expect that the average man should understand what "the dictatorship of the proletariat" means in British terms, when they showed no sign of understanding, or trying to understand, its meaning themselves. They themselves are as much to blame as anybody for the simple and obvious consequence of their unthinking parrotry: that the average man remembers the word "Dictator" and forgets the rest.

Against this revolutionary illusionism we have campaigned steadily in these pages. Yet no decisive word has been forthcoming from those in authority among the non-Labour Party Socialists. Who can honestly say whether the policy of the I.L.P., for instance, is represented by the middle-class firebrands of London or the working-class realists of Scotland and the North? Yet who of those to whom the Bradford decision was a serious matter imagined that the break with the illusionism of the pre-1931 Labour Party meant a helter-skelter rush into the new illusionism of the R.P.C.? The real issue at Bradford was not for or against the Parliamentary weapon as such but for or against the futility, the lack of Socialist purpose, with which the Parliamentary weapon had been used.

THE time is come when revolutionary socialism which is revolutionary enough to be realistic must identify itself unequivocally with parliamentarism in this country. In the next round of the fight which is now preparing, possession of the parliamentary weapon, and of that weapon unimpaired and undiscredited, is of supreme importance. Surely Germany is a conclusive demonstration to the most obtuse that only under parliamentarism can socialism breathe in a Western industrial society. For parliamentarism based on a universal suffrage is the political form of advanced capitalism; and only when the forces of the working class have achieved their resolute alignment under the freedom of the parliamentary system can the last act begin. To attempt to enforce the Socialist will (still largely unconscious) of the working class without the legal control which a parliamentary majority gives over the machinery of the State is an invitation to defeat and chaos. It is effectively to alienate that considerable, and quite decisive, section of society which regards democracy as of more account than any specific social change. Marxists are fond of asserting that they have seen through democracy. And sometimes they have. But the only test of having really seen through democracy is the conclusion that we must return to use it.

For lack of this realism the non-Labour Party Socialists have allowed the Labour Party to steal a march upon them. They have been too busy differentiating themselves from the Labour Party to pause to think whether they might not be emptying the baby with the bath-water, or to consider calmly whether their rash conclusion was sound, that the necessary re-affirmation of the revolutionary purpose of Socialism implied a rejection of the Parliamentary weapon. The Labour Party meanwhile, partly guided by instinct and partly influenced by its genuine Socialists, has been able to make a re-affirmation of Socialist policy which is without the fatal ambiguities of their rivals. Mr. Lansbury's words are unequivocal:

> The task of a Labour Government backed by a large majority may be difficult, but, given faith and courage, there is no need to fear what reactionaries may say or do: the moving force must come from us, and, given power, no one can say us nay.
>
> The armed forces of the Crown and the police are the servants, not the masters of the people, and through Parliament and Parliament alone the people exercise that control. There must and can be no misunderstanding about this.

Mr. Lansbury is often accused of being a sentimentalist. The charge may be true; or it may be merely the description applied to one whose heart is in the right place by others whose hearts are not. But at any rate, this was spoken by a true realist. It is simple, easy to understand, susceptible of no misinterpretation; and it seizes on the vital issue—the control of the armed forces and the police. At this moment in the evolution of British society this control can be attained through Parliament and by no other means.

Whether or not the armed forces and the police would be obedient to the declared Socialist will of the people, affirmed and exercised through Parliament, who can say? But those who make up their minds beforehand that the armed forces and the police will resist the will of the people expressed through Parliament, and proceed forthwith to demand that the people should ignore Parliament, are fools. They may

be sincere and zealous; but still they are only the more dangerous fools. The weapon of legality in this country is a weapon that no sane Socialist can dream of thus handing over to the enemy. The question, Who commenced the illegality? is vital in such a society as ours. De Leon, who had life-long experience of Anglo-Saxondom, saw this clearly. Yet our so-called Marxists abandon the wise word of their own hero: that England was the only country where the social revolution might be accomplished wholly by peaceful and legal means. And they abandon it at the behest of Lenin, who did not understand English conditions, though it is the word of Marx himself, who did.

THE choice in this country is perfectly clear. We Socialists have to choose between securing control of our armed forces and the police by the only possible means, namely Parliament; or giving the control of those forces, legally, into the hands of the enemy. In other words, we can have the State for us or against us. Legal socialism leads to the former; illegal socialism to the latter. If the armed forces and police disobey the will of the people as expressed through Parliament, there will no doubt be civil war; but it will be civil war in which the people will win.

And not merely do we have to defend Parliament as the one powerful potential weapon of socialism; we shall have to defend it also as the one guarantee of freedom for Socialist propaganda. Socialists who clamour for dictatorship poison the very air which they themselves must breathe. In a country such as this the general mind is clear upon one point: that those who call for dictatorship must not squeal when they suffer it.

In the coming phase of European history it is abundantly evident that the causes of socialism and parliamentarism will be identical. In the country where parliamentarism will endure longest (which will be the country where parliamentarism has endured longest, and where it has become the rooted habit of the people) the transition to socialism, as distinct from the pseudo-socialism of fascism or bolshevism, will be most probable. The Communist International cannot be expected to admit this: for it is a conclusion to be reached only by a habit of mind with which Bolsheviks are unfamiliar, and the admission demands the reingurgitation of whole mountains of doctrinaire (and bourgeois) ideology uttered by the professors of the Comintern over a period of years. But if the Comintern means business, this is what its business means. The only practical basis of unity between the Socialist parties of this country is on the determination not to surrender the chief weapon of the class struggle. That means, in this country, one thing only, and what it means has been clearly enunciated by Mr. Lansbury: "The Labour Movement in Britain will not under any circumstances support dictatorship or dictators." And the Comintern, and the romantic revolutionaries who are bemused by it, will have to swallow it.

The moment is of vital importance. If the urge towards the unity of the working-class movement is exploited *against* the Labour Party, if it is to degenerate into a new variety of "the united front" tactic with which we are now so sickeningly familiar, then not the Labour Party, but the parties who sought their own self-interest will be responsible for the inevitable disunity of the Labour Movement. The only unity of the Labour Movement which is of consequence is a real unity—one single Labour Movement, wherein the Left parties sink their claim to separate existence as political parties, but not as Socialist organisations. In the united Labour front which the developing situation demands, there must be *one* political party—and only one. There is the writing on the wall in Germany: let the I.L.P. and the C.P. read it. If they do not, their members will. (Reprinted from *The Adelphi*, London.)

Forgiveness

YOU said, "It does not matter,
But you might have guessed that there were dreams to shatter."

You said, "When a heart is broken,
Words of forgiveness are very easily spoken."

IDELLA PURNELL

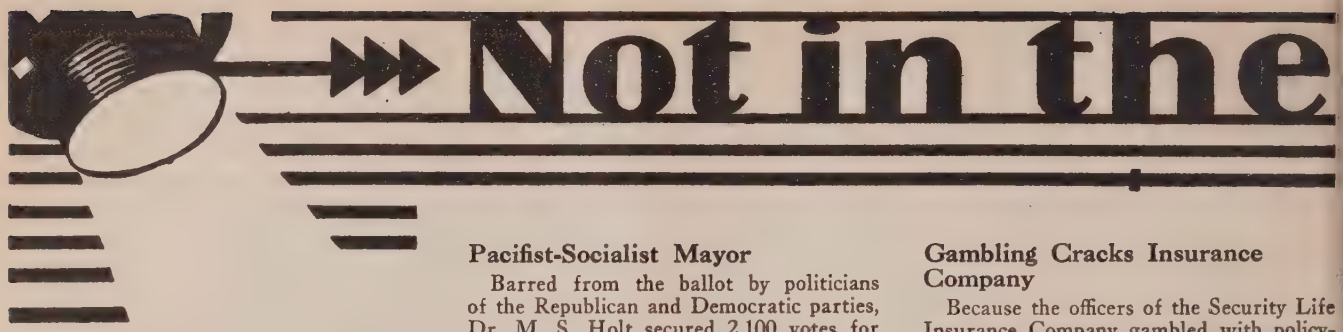
Light

THE light of the stars is with me,
The stars of dream, fire-burning,
In the sombre firmament
Of my mind's endless night;
Stars that watched the oceans
Make their bed;
Stars that crowned kingdoms from birth
To the stone tablets of history;
Stars that are pale with the memory
Of the first age.

The light of the stars is with me.
The light of the stars was on me,
Like the spell of an old acquaintance,
When I lay, the dormant clod
Of an unbroken field.

The light of the stars will attend me,
And flood my body with freedom,
On the silver path of dust,
Leading from Death's dawn,
Where light falls without shadow;
The silver path of dust
That leads to where all trails end,
And begin—in the Sun.

J. GRAYDON JEFFRIES



Can Criticize Banks

The Illinois statute forbidding the publication of unfavorable news about banks, even if true, has been declared unconstitutional in a criminal action brought against five editors and managers of *Vilnis,* Lithuanian labor paper issued in Chicago. The indictments were quashed. *Vilnis* had printed statements about a building and loan association operating among Lithuanians in the Middle West. Conviction would have involved imprisonment and fines.

Mail Order Coöp Starts

Announcement has been made of the beginning of operations by the Coöperative Distributors, Inc., a mail order cooperative enterprise operated primarily for non-profit organizations and the ultimate consumer. Headquarters are at 128 E. 16th St., New York City. The statement of purpose points our that consumers are the victims of all kinds of faking in advertising and that they have little defense against such faking. Coöperative Distributors, Inc., plans to make quality goods available at a reasonable price. So far as possible, the formula under which the goods are made will be put on the package and an indication will be given as to the various items of cost entering into the final price. In the first announcement prices are quoted on 19 products. This list will be added to substantially in the future, it is said. Their first catalog is being mailed free on request.

Rent Picketing

Based on a legal opinion which claims "there is no such thing as a rent strike," a circular advising all New York policemen to arrest rent picketers was issued by former Police Commissioner Mulrooney at the request of the Bronx Landlords Association. The provisions of the circular have already been applied against five women accused of picketing. The ruling upon which the circular is based declares the right to strike and picket is legally confined to labor disputes and cannot be used in struggles between tenants and landlords. The new circular was issued after landlords found they could not enjoin their own tenants from picketing. Injunctions have been issued, however, against non-tenants who took part in picket lines.

Pacifist-Socialist Mayor

Barred from the ballot by politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties, Dr. M. S. Holt secured 2,100 votes for Mayor of Weston, West Virginia, in a write-in campaign, and was elected by a plurality of 400 votes. During 1917-18, Dr. Holt was the state's most widely known war resister.

Brotherly Poverty

More than one in every ten families in Philadelphia are hungry, according to the conservative admissions of the Industrial Research Department of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, in a special report just published. In a survey of family conditions made in May, 1932, it was found that 10.4 per cent. of the families had "insufficient food," and "if the criterion of distress had been less exacting, the percentage would have been much larger," the Labor Research Association reports. Estimating that 47,800 families in the City of Brotherly Love are hungry, the report goes on to reveal that approximately 71,000 Philadelphia families had insufficient food, insufficient clothing, or insuffcient heat at the time of the survey, while many were lacking in all three of these essentials.

MacDonald and Coöperatives

Despite the fact that British Socialists and progressives are reminding him of a definite pledge he had made not to increase taxation on the coöperative enterprises of Great Britain, Ramsay MacDonald and his fellows in the National government are undertaking to impose a heavy tax which will be disastrous to the coöperative associations, their officials declare. British Labor is fighting hard to prevent passage of the measure, but is handicapped of course by its small representation in the House. Coöperative societies and their 6,500,000 members already pay income tax amounting to £620,000 a year, while individually the members pay income tax also on their investments in the societies. Says the Labor Party: "During the past few years, when economic conditions of the British working classes have grown worse, unemployment increased, and wages fallen, the Coöperative Movement has improved the lot of the people by returning each year a *higher* return on goods purchased, that is to say, by dividend. It was £17,000,000 in 1926; £19,000,000 in 1927; £20,000,000 in 1928; £21,000,000 in 1929; £22,000,000 in 1930; and £21,000,000 in 1931."

Gambling Cracks Insurance Company

Because the officers of the Security Life Insurance Company gambled with policyholders' money in the stocks of other corporations, the organization went to smash, according to the receiver's report to the federal district court. The directors also declared a 6 per cent cash dividend to themselves and other stockholders at a time when unpaid death claims totaled $150,000 and the bank account was overdrawn $12,816, according to the Federated Press.

Coöp Leads

Although almost all Nashwauk, Minnesota, business houses are closed, the cooperative Elanto Company remains the strongest retail enterprise in the community, despite the fact that its total sales dropped from $102,448 to $62,562 in 1932. Net profit for the year, $2,060, was returned to the store's patrons in the form of purchase refunds. The Elanto's assets of $35,905 are three times its liabilities.

Sufficient for Two Years

Sir Henry Strakosch is quoted in the *New Statesman and Nation* as saying that in July, 1931, "there were in the markets of the world goods sufficient to maintain the people of the world on the standards to which they were accustomed for two years and three months following, supposing no stroke of work was done in the interval."

German Jobless Film

While the world is protesting against the gag rule shackling the German stage and screen, American theatre audiences will soon see "Kuhle Wampe", the first German screen dramatization of unemployment. The film derives its name from that of a popular summer resort on Berlin's outskirts which has become a year-round tent colony of the jobless, much like America's Hoovervilles. The story traces the change in spirit from the suicide of a youth because he has been cut off from the dole to the revolutionary determination of his sister, played by Hertha Thiele, star of the famed German film, "Maedchen in Uniform." When "Kuhle Wampe" was about half finished the sound-film monopoly of Germany, of which Alfred Hugenberg, cabinet member, is head, objected to it on political grounds. The author and director organized a series of lectures, aroused a storm of protest and forced the sound monopoly to allow use of equipment for the film's completion.

Headlines

Ibero-American Congress

The Ibero-American Congress of Catholic Students will hold its annual convention in Lima, Peru, July 1933. Among the many interesting and important topics to be discussed are: "The League of Nations," "Pan Americanism" and "Ibero-Americanism." It is stated that on the topic of "The League of Nations," special mention of Catholic thought will be made on "Peace" and "Methods Recommended to Avoid Fleet Disputes." The following countries are expected to be represented: Costa Rica, Chile, Santo Domingo, El Salvador, Spain, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela and Peru. The last convention, which met in Mexico City in 1932, was held in connection with the feast of the 400th anniversary of the Apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Not a Socialist at All

Newspaper stories have misled many people into assuming that John I. Drew, jointly charged with a banker, I. J. Rosenberg, of defrauding the city, is a Socialist, merely because he happened formerly to be City Treasurer of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The indicted official is a Democrat and has never been a member of the Socialist Party. Drew was defeated for city treasurer in the April, 1932, city elections by John W. Mudroch, the present Socialist incumbent.

New Labor School

In the first term of its existence the Highlander Folk School, opened Nov. 1, 1932, "to provide an educational center in the South for training rural and industrial leaders," has done intensive work with a group of resident students, has conducted community classes for adults and has furnished the leaders for club work among children in Tennessee's mountain district. As a result of students' and teachers' investigation of the Wilder, Tenn., coal strike, publicity was focused upon the situation. The school was founded by Myles Horton and Don West, who have patterned their school after the Danish folk schools which both have studied. All work in the school is shared by teachers and students alike. No one is paid. The school operates a small farm, but depends upon contributions for a large part of its expenses. The school is planning to extend its work by opening the Georgia Workers Coöperative Libraries, a chain of coöperative labor libraries with headquarters at Kennesaw, Ga.

Wage Cuts Reach New Peak

Not since July, 1932, did the number of wage cuts reported for any month attain the volume they did for the month ending January 15, 1933, according to *Facts for Workers,* published by the Labor Bureau, Inc. The decreases in manufacturing wage scales averaged about 11.4 per cent and affected more than 58,000 workers. In non-manufacturing industries they ranged from 8.2 per cent to 14.6 per cent. "A rapid growth of sweatshop conditions and a general relaxing of standards are being reported," *Facts for Workers* adds, noting a rise in the number of workers between the ages of 16 and 17.

The "Lucky One in Five"

Every fifth family in Colorado is dependent on Reconstruction Finance Corp. relief funds for existence, and the situation is growing daily more desperate, according to John E. Gross, administrator for the Governor's relief committee, reports the Federated Press.

Old Age Pension Gains

Three states have enacted mandatory old age security legislation since March, 1, making a total of five states added to the ranks of pension states since the legislative season opened last January. In addition, the legislature of Arkansas has passed such a measure, and the Governor has pledged himself to sign if it is not found unconstitutional.

Quits Disarmament Post

As a result of the Dutch government's treatment of the mutinous crew on the warship Seven Provinces, the Dutch representative in the Air Commission of the Disarmament Conference has resigned. He stated he was unable to discuss seriously an international agreement to prohibit bombing from the air in time of war when his government bombed its own citizens in peace time. The Federated Press attests that his statement was suppressed in Geneva.

Buffalo Unemployed Have Paper

The League of the Unemployed, in Buffalo, New York, has begun the publication of a monthly four-page journal which is entirely the work of the unemployed and friends of the unemployed, from editing to printing. The editors are Herman J. Hahn and James W. Moorhouse; George Baron is business manager. The journal is a militant paper, seeking a reconstruction of society rather than mere relief.

To Aid the Bantus

Despite the depression, the Town Council of Durban, South Africa, has placed £1,000 at the disposal of its Committee of Investigation, which is studying the possibility of establishing in Durban a Bantu Social Center. Both Europeans and Bantu leaders have long been interested in the creation of such a center to serve the 60,000 natives in the municipal area.

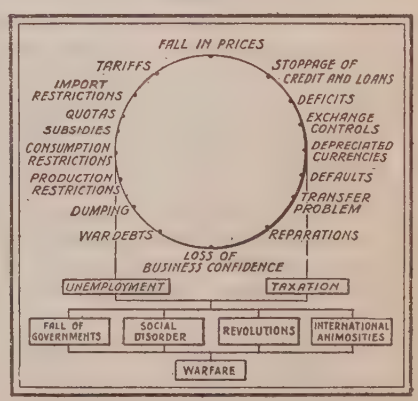
Another Pacifist Rejected

Ernest Walder, a war resister of West New York, N. J., aged 34, who is a native of Switzerland, and whose occupation is that of a knitter in an embroidery plant, was recently denied citizenship by County Judge Thomas H. Brown, because, as Walder stated, according to the New York *World Telegram*: "I want to be an American citizen and I would be loyal and patriotic, doing my full duty, but I have strong conscientious objections against war and fighting."

A Total of 5,004

On April 14 the Associated Press published a summary of the banking situation, as follows: 543 Reserve member banks that were open at the beginning of the holiday are still closed, and 680 are open with restrictions, out of 6,736 open before the holiday. Of the state banks 769 are still closed, and 3,012 are open with restrictions, out of 11,435 at the beginning of the period. This means that 1,312 banks are closed, and 3,692 open with restrictions—or a total of 5,004 not functioning normally. And prior to the holiday there had been some 10,000 bank failures within a dozen years.

Vicious Circle of Economic Influences



Prepared by H. O. Chalkley, of the British Embassy

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

Democracy in Crisis

Democracy in Crisis. By Harold Laski. University of North Carolina Press. $1.50.

HAROLD LASKI's new analysis of the possibility of achieving socialism through the democratic process is an interesting symptom of British socialism's drift toward the Left. The British Labor Party has been more consistently democratic in theory than any European party, though the German Socialists have been as consistently democratic in practice as the English group. The events of 1931 have forced British Socialists to re-examine Sidney Webb's famous hope in the "inevitability of gradualness," a hope which its author has himself abandoned. Laski's learned treatise represents one effort in this task of re-analysis.

The crucial question which Laski raises is this: Will the parliamentary method, which functions admirably to adjust conflicting interests within a given social system, be equally adequate when it is called upon to arbitrate and adjust the conflict between two contrasting social systems? The reason that question must be raised is that the democratic method always presupposes the willingness of a minority to acquiesce in the policy of a majority. This presupposition has been justified as long as political battles represented the conflict of two capitalistic groups, the Whigs and the Tories, the landed proprietors and the industrial overlords. It could be maintained even after the rise of the Labor Party as long as labor did not seriously challenge the existence of capitalism but merely used its growing political power to transmute a laissez faire state into a social service state. The dominant social classes accepted higher and higher taxation rates to pay for the social services of the state as long as they profited from an expanding economy which allowed for the payment of high taxes without impairing the capitalists' hold upon the economic structure.

If the time should come, according to Mr. Laski, when capitalism cannot permit the political state to abolish the inequalities of economic society without destroying the very character of that economic society (the private possession of the means of production), it is not at all certain that the dominant classes will yield to a superior political power in the hands of labor without making a last effort to preserve their special privileges. A long history of parliamentary liberalism might qualify the course of the crisis which will arise when the two social systems stand in ultimate combat, but it would not guarantee a peaceful acquiescence on the part of a capitalistic minority in the policies of a Socialist majority. One can read between the lines that Mr. Laski is still hoping against hope that British parliamentary history may completely change the pattern of social change in that country, in contrast to countries less deeply grounded in constitutionalism. But the spark has gone out of his faith and he has become more interested in justifying his fears than in supporting his hopes.

In justifying these fears, Mr. Laski makes a careful analysis of the Crown, the civil service and the army, and he concludes that the traditions, natural instincts and habits of each of these institutions would tempt them to defy a parliamentary majority which sought a radical change in the social system. How could the Crown preserve its traditional neutrality in politics, he asks, in a final conflict between socialism and capitalism? Can an institution which provides the keystone for an inegalitarian social scheme peacefully acquiesece in the destruction of that system for the purpose of creating an egalitarian society?

In spite of these convincing fears, Mr. Laski remains a constitutionalist. He believes that labor cannot begin a radical reorganization of society until it has the prestige of a political majority behind it. Once it has achieved that, it may be forced to abrogate or circumscribe the principles of democracy in order to protect itself against foes who have no democratic scruples.

Mr. Laski's analysis may fit the English situation. But his only slightly qualified constitutionalism is hardly derived from the lessons which Germany teaches. The German Socialists had 46 per cent of the votes in 1919. They waited for a clear parliamentary majority. They waited and waited, until finally their most uncompromising foes, who had only 33 per cent of the votes, transmuted that minority into a majority by the use of non-parliamentary means. Every modern society has an element which can be harnessed to the purposes of any political party that knows where it is going, that is marching with vigor and to the accompaniment of noise and that knows how to get hold of and manipulate the apparatus of the state. In politics nothing succeeds like success. This does not mean that martial revolution is more efficacious than parliamentarism. It means precisely the opposite. The tool of democracy must be used. But if one is as certain as Mr. Laski that the enemies of labor will disavow democratic principles in the final combat, one is forced to the conclusion that labor ought to beat them to it. This is particularly true if one knows that, like the Fascists in Germany, the reactionaries will exploit the impatience of a public which has grown tired of the parliamentary fluctuations arising from the inability of either radicalism or reaction to gain a clear mandate from the electors.

R. N.

Leisure—Table D'Hote and A La Carte

Leisure in the Modern World. By C. Delisle Burns. Century Company. $2.50.

On the Meaning of Life. By Will Durant. Ray Long and Richard R. Smith. $1.50.

FEW platitudes are now so tiresome as those which tell us about the vast quantities of leisure which we are all to have in the days ahead. The paralysis of life around us on all social levels is, we are told, a mere foretaste of new social trends to which we must all become inured. The more or less true facts of technocracy have become tiresome—because they are obvious, but even more because they help so little toward the solution of self-evident problems.

The distinctive values of Delisle Burns' essay on leisure is his

insistence that what we think about it is so much more important than what we do with it. Whether our spare time is to be a bright promise or a terrifying threat depends, in the last analysis, upon our philosophy about its use. God as well as the devil may find work for idle hands to do. We need, therefore, cultural as well as economic studies of leisure. Parallel to the emphasis of the social sciences upon prices of foods, we have need, for example, to study the arts of "consumption," to see what satisfactions for living may come from simpler foods and a more artistic preparation and enjoyment of them. The lessons of youth in post-war Europe in rediscovering simple enjoyments which cost no money suggest the possibilities and the rewards of a new simplicity which we may now have a chance, even if not a necessity, of achieving. The author makes a suggestive study of significant and often unnoticed social trends which the new leisure is bringing about. It is a leisure not, as always heretofore, of a leisure class (usually with a slave class supporting it), but a leisure which is bringing all social levels into propinquity and into new possibilities of creative living. Perhaps we have not realized the way class lines are obliterated—in buses and in movies; in the rapidly increased custom of general restaurant dining; in the multiplied use of automobiles. In the trends toward unity of national thinking—and mob psychology is not always bad—ranchers and coal-miners have through the radio and movie a chance, previously an upper-class privilege, of hearing the best music, visiting strange lands and participating in the discussion of public affairs. Women, most of all, have had new doors opened for them and for all of us a new life of the spirit may be worked out.

In his volume, *On the Meaning of Life,* Mr. Durant shares with us those contributions to his mail-bag which reveal the ways the modern man may regard the universe and its contemporaneous changes. Most of the 35 persons who wrote letters are close to the currents of life today. Perhaps too close, for it is obvious that most of them have not yet paid the prices of thinking to conclusions. Helen Wills Moody, who writes the longest answer to Mr. Durant's query, and George Bernard Shaw, who sends back another question on half a post card, do not sound like great prophetic voices. Perhaps Count Keyserling most naïvely and unconsciously represents the futility of most of our current views of life when he asks, Why should I send to you a good idea to circulate when I might put it into a book which would sell under my own name?

DAVID R. PORTER

Progress in Christian Unity

Christian Unity in Practice and Prophecy. By Charles S. Macfarland. Macmillan Company. 383 pages. $2.75.

WHAT is Christian unity? Are the churches growing together or are they growing apart? Was the break-up of the Roman Catholic Church at the time of the Reformation a loss of Christian unity? Or was it a necessary step forward towards true unity? Is there hope that the major denominations in the United States, whose divisions call forth the unintelligent jibes of many, may in time form a single Protestant body? Or are they always to remain as a standing evidence of the essential failure of Protestantism because it rejected the religion of external authority as expressed in Catholicism? Is the nearest approach that the churches can make toward unity to be found in such a federal relationship as is found in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America? Or is the organic unity of the churches—including Rome—a practical possibility in the not remote future? Answers to these and to many other questions about the program for church unity are found in the illuminating and truly inspiring volume from the hand of Dr. Charles S. Macfarland.

The author approaches the problem in a truly scientific spirit and manner. He sketches first of all the long history of the Christian church. He then takes up recent movements in Christian co-operation. He brings into the picture remarkable recent coöperation in home and foreign missions and in such inter-communion enterprises as the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A.'s, the Bible Society, state and city councils of churches and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He extends his outlook to the entire world, describing the councils of churches in many European countries and even in India, China and Japan, and finally brings into view the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work and the World Conference on Faith and Order. By this scientific approach Dr. Macfarland has laid an indisputable foundation in facts for his interpretations and forecasts.

The author has proven, I think, his main contention that "in spirit the Christian churches are already in vital, living unity which their present outward forms fail to express," and that for the present and the immediate future the most hopeful form of progress in expressing the spiritual unity which they now have is the federal association of the churches, in which each maintains its organic entity, retaining its autonomy and liberty, and through which, by the slow but sure step-by-step experimental method of evolution, the forms of outward unity may be realized. This is a volume not only for scholars and pastors, but for students and Christian laymen who wish to understand what is taking place in Christian history. As Dr. Macfarland correctly says: "The movements for Christian unity are freighted with promise. It is irresistible. But it has been, is and will be a process of growth."

The world is drawing together, economically, socially, politically, with a deepening sense of interdependence and of a common destiny. To match this external development the world needs a corresponding and commensurate spiritual development. This is actually going forward. He who doubts should not fail to examine the evidence which has been so cogently and persuasively brought together in this volume.

SIDNEY L. GULICK

WE RECOMMEND

Review of World Trade, 1930. A League of Nations publication. World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 60 cents. An invaluable paper-covered pamphlet in large size, 68 pages, showing in detail the facts of our present economic collapse in its beginnings. Some people are stirred by looking into suffering faces; some are bowled over by statistics. This work is for the latter class, but it will help to show them what is what regarding the other group.

Where Is Science Going? By Max Planck. W. W. Norton and Co. $2.75. A sober, clear, and sane exposition of present trends, with emphasis upon the role of religion and nature. Foreword by Einstein.

Human Aspects of Unemployment and Relief. By James Mickel Williams. University of North Corolina Press. $2.50. Not a statistical study, but an interpretation of the effects of unemployment upon women and children, the home, health, morale and morality.

Japanese in the United States. By Yamato Ichihashi. Stanford University Press. 1932. $4.00. In 1923, when agitation for Japanese exclusion was at its height, a questionnaire was circulated among the senior students of the Seattle High School asking among other things: "How many Japanese are there in the United States?" On this question 52 per cent of the students passed and the other 48 per cent guessed anywhere between 4,000 to 20,000,000. This book ought to dissipate the general ignorance in regard to Japanese in the United States. After showing that there are about 140,000 Japanese in this country, the author studies in detail their geographical distribution, their occupations, their cultural background, and the international complications of Japanese emigration. It is a valuable book.

CORRESPONDENCE

Institute for Social Progress

BELIEVING that the present crisis has shown that a new, more compelling and convincing social intelligence must be introduced into our community life, and that adult men and women should acquire this intelligence as the only tool with which they can work to make over habits, customs and institutions to conform to the needs of a new day, an Institute for Social Progress will hold its first session this summer on the campus of Wellesley College.

The group of 130 men and women who will convene there with leaders will be in no sense an academic group. There will be carefully selected from as many fields as possible, from as many communities as possible, the business and professional men and women, industrial workers, teachers, clerical workers, farmers and homemakers who can contribute practical experience. What is wanted from this group is not panaceas nor instructions concerning the economic trend, but useful criticism based on a knowledge of particular activities and needs, and a willingness to listen to and discuss the problems confronting those in other fields. What is wanted further is men and women who will return from the conference to be leaders, in some small way at least, of broad-minded discussion and analyzed activity.

The session will be brief this first year, two weeks in the month of July, the dates to be announced later. While there will be lectures every morning, they will serve more as spring-boards to argument than as *ex cathedra* statements. They will be given by authorities on economics, who will also serve when needed as leaders in the round tables which will be held in the afternoon or evening of every day. The institute takes for its general thesis the question: What are the fundamentals of a good social order and how can they be realized? The aspect of the problem to be considered this summer will be: Our Economic Future—Its Direction and Control.

Those who are interested in taking part in the Wellesley Summer Institute for Summer Progress are asked to apply for membership to Dr. Alfred Sheffield, 31 Madison Street, Cambridge, Mass. From all those who apply, 130 men and women will be invited, care being taken to keep the vocational groups well balanced. The cost of tuition, board and room will be $25 a week.

Newton Centre, Mass. HELEN STEERS BURGESS

Who's Who in This Issue

Irene Gates is a physician on the staff of the Cornell-New York Hospital Clinic.

John Middleton Murry is author of "Jesus, Man of Genius" and is editor of the *Adelphi* (London).

David R. Porter is executive secretary of the national student division of the Y. M. C. A.

Sidney L. Gulick is secretary of the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

National Jobless Convention

JOBLESS leagues throughout the country which are not dominated by the Communist Party are asked by the Federation of Unemployed Workers' Leagues of America to send delegates to a convention in Chicago, May 13-15. The Workers' Committee on Unemployment and the Workers' League, Chicago branches of the Federation, have agreed to feed and lodge the delegates.

The purposes of the gathering are to unite the numerous unemployed organizations on a common program of minimum demands, to adopt a constitution that will give the work national direction while at the same time preserving local autonomy, and to provide the opportunity for a thorough exchange of ideas, aims and tactics.

Additional details on the convention may be obtained by writing to Robert E. Asher, secretary, Temporary National Executive Committee, 20 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

A Traveling Economic Seminar

IN order to give religious leaders first-hand diversified experiences in industry and agriculture, the National Religion and Labor Foundation is sponsoring a traveling seminar through the Eastern United States during the coming summer. Twenty carefully selected ministers, priests, rabbis and professors will have the opportunity of participating in this six weeks' study of actual conditions. In each center visited there will be a careful evaluation, assisted by expert consultants, of the plants or farms, and of the living conditions of the workers connected with them. As a result of the summer's experiences it is planned to prepare a book on the contemporary American scene through the eyes of religious leaders, to which members of the group will contribute chapters. Detailed information may be obtained from the offices of the Foundation, 304 Crown Street, New Haven, Conn.

The Community Players Present
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A New Play by Conrad Seiler
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An Editorial Request

THE editors will be grateful if some hundreds of readers will send promptly their replies to the following questions. These opinions will prove to be illuminating to the editors as they endeavor to make the magazine more useful.

(*Tear out and mail, or transfer to another sheet*)

List in order of priority of *value to you* three features of the magazine (editorials, articles, As Brailsford Sees It, Not in the Headlines, verse, book reviews, correspondence columns, Eccentricus' Last Word):

1.

2.

3.

List in order of priority three features which you value *least:*

1.

2.

3.

Keeping in mind the inherent limitations of space, would you prefer *more* articles and editorials on religion, *or fewer?*

On socialism and the class struggle?

On pacifism and international relations?

On race relations?

On government and politics?

On an accompanying sheet, list several *themes* of articles or editorials in which you would be interested, and offer any frank *criticisms* of the magazine that occur to you.

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Readers may withhold their names if they so desire

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Interlocutor, Mary Fox *Chairman,* Joseph P. Lash

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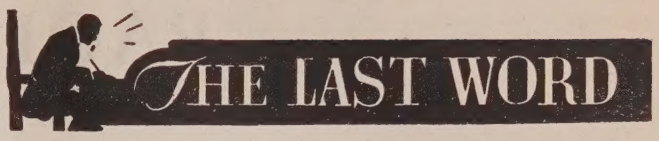


NOT only Chicago and Philadelphia, but New York also, I see, will soon have a planetarium. Normally I ought to be elated at the prospect, for while there may be a few people who exceed Eccentricus in curiosity about the idiosyncrasies of the stars in their courses, their number must be limited. Vega's azure glow, the red disc of vast Antares, the astigmatic W of Cassiopeia, even the mythical Saggitarius blindly dispatching his arrow toward the west while Hydra, the water snake, sneaks up on him from the rear—all these fascinate me. How they make me wish Americans were as civilized as Spaniards, so they would turn half the night into day, dine at nine, open evening affairs at ten-thirty, and go to bed at three! But now nothing can be conceived of normally.

There exist at Nuremberg and Munich marvellous planetaria, which have served, in fact, as inspiration for the new ones in our country. These, like all others, depend for usefulness upon uniform behavior on the part of the real sun, moon, stars, and other heavenly bodies. Any phenomenon which disarranges the order of the spheres and keeps earthly planetaria hopping about restlessly, seeking to keep up with cosmic whims, is fatal to the learning process and costly to the public purse. The new device is to cost $600,000; this figure, though, is based upon reasonable stability in the skies. Prior to March 5 such an assumption might have been realistic. Comets came and went, stars off on the rim of space clashed and collided, but for all practical purposes Mercury and Venus still flirted with the sun, while from their orbits in cold inaccessibility Pluto, Uranus and Neptune looked enviously on. Not so, however, now.

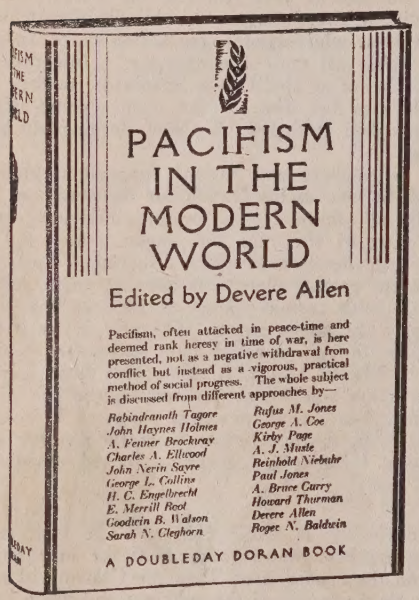
THE reason, obviously, is Adolf Hitler. The little man of Germany who has brought to government the solemnity of a Buster Keaton and the erudition of Toto the Clown will speedily give his attention to the music of the spheres; and when he does, they will sing a different tune. True, there is a moment's respite. It will probably require a little time to rewrite the Old Testament; adapt the New; tell the Pope how to run the Catholic Church; reconstruct Protestantism; provide a new dietary schedule for the people; outline the duties of a Prussian gentleman under the code duello; call in all the old decorations and medals and formulate fresh categories of heroism and pomp; remake the system of Arabic numerals; revise relativity so as to exclude Einstein; recast all German music to follow *Die Wacht am Rhein, Elbe, Weser, Volga, Tigris, Po, Thames, Loire, Rhone, Ganges, Yangste, Amazon, Yukon and Mississippi* as a theme song; work out a series of form letters covering all foreign complaints to say in seventy-nine different ways, "You started it!"; and remake all history to show that Adam was a Prussian, Abel wore a Brown Shirt, Cain was a German Jew recently immigrated from Russia, and Judas a Frenchman. Nevertheless, the Master Mind will get around to cosmogony sooner or later, whereupon things will move.

First, of course, the Man in the Moon will be told to clear out of the sky or else sprout one of those toothbrush mustaches. Then, soon, the sun will be instructed to shine only when and where Herrlip Hitler or his *Ja*-men decree. Finally, the rain will fall only on the gardens of Nazis, and the wind cease—excepting, of course, when his Regal Madness utters speeches.

IN the huge Deutsches Museum at Munich there are two solar systems operating in miniature: one the modern Copernican, with the sun in the center, and the other the ancient Ptolemaic, with the sun going around the earth. It won't be long now before the Copernican system will be introduced to students as antiquated, while the Ptolemaic concept will be hailed as true. There will be just one improvement: everything else will now revolve about a little pin point labelled "Hitler." And *how* they will go round! And round and round. And round.

Eccentricus

PACIFISM in the MODERN (Critical) WORLD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